

18

A BRIEF
HISTORY
OF
PRESBYTERY
AND
INDEPENDENCY,

From their first Original, to this Time.

S H E W I N G,

- I. Wherein, and the Reasons why they Separate from the Church of *England*.
- II. Wherein they differ from each other.

W I T H

Dover
2396
End

Some Remarks on the late Heads of Agreement,
Assented to by the United Ministers of both
PERSWASIONS.

Written at the Request, and for the Satisfaction of a
Private Friend, and now made publick for General
Information.

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CHAP. I.

TO give a full History of *Nonconformity* to the Church of England, since the first Reformation, is both impracticable and impossible, in so small a Treatise; take here only an *Essay* to it, in a Compendious Epitome: Begin we with that Reformation transported from that of *Luther's* in *Germany*, unto our King *Edward* the VI. in to *England*.

Remark 1.

He is truly stiled a *second Josiah*, whom *Cardan*, though a *Papist*, yet had so much of a *Philosopher* in him, as to Admire for a *None-such* in Accomplishments, saying, in a Transport, of him [Not only England, but the World has reason to lament the loss of such an hopeful Blossom, so early Blasted. [Whereas a Prelatical Doctor of our Country, and a pretended Protestant, seem'd to rejoyce at it, rather than bewail it as an *Infelicity*, [That he was so soon Succeeded by *Q. Mary*, a *Bloody Popish Queen*,] Characterizing him as one ill principl'd in himself, and easily inclin'd to embrace such Counsels, as would have proved pernicious to the Church, so slanders him with *Sacrilege*, &c. *Heyline Hist. of Ref. Preface & pag. 131. &c.* no Reason can be rendred why *Cardan* should out shine *Heylin*, in Admiring this *Young King*, but because such a Spirit of Reformation began to bud in him, as if it had blossom'd, and become Fruit, would in all probability have Reformed the Church throughly, according to her primitive Pattern, and so dear was the *Diana* of the Churches Splendour and worldly Pomp in that Day, that a *Popish Queen* who would Establish it, was more welcome than such an hopeful King, whom they feared, would Reduce it to the first Institution: *Non erat sic ab Initio. It was not so from the Beginning*, though such profound Piety shone forth in this Illustrious Prince in so convincing a lustre, as *Mother-Church* her self could not bribe that *Popish Foreign Philosopher*, but he was constrained to afford this Royal Enemy his due Encomium: Yet his Regal Dignity, or Innocent Piety cannot secure him from Severe Censures, out of the Mouths of *English Divines*, under a Tincture of *Prelacy*: Nor was this all, but that King's Godly Uncle the Duke of *Somerset*, did suffer hard things, and at last Death it self, by such as were sowed by the like Leaven: In both which cases, the venom of a Persecuting Spirit, had a preposterous Operation, working upward, both against a *Pious Prince*, and against a *Pious Protector*: They both were Spew'd upon by Men of this Brann, whereas when there is a possession of Power in their hands, then this poysonous Principle is for working Downward, casting forth Cart Loads of Excrements upon such as under their power, as the Sequel will sufficiently demonstrate, &c.

Remark 2.

'Tis well observed, that the shortness of *K. Edward's Life*, prevented him of an opportunity for a thorough Reformation. [Notwithstanding the high Places were not yet Remov'd,] as 'tis oft said in the *Books of Kings*, and *Chronicles* of

of the Kings of *Israel* and *Judah*: Mr. *Martin Luther* hath this Passage in his History, &c. p. 283. That *Edward VI.* was a Storm that tore up *Popish* Prelacy by the Roots, yet a top Root remain'd entire with the Stock which bare of the old Soil of *Papacy*, yet transplanted into the new Mold of Royalty, began to flourish again, &c. and may it not be said, that he had not time nor opportunity to do little more than to lop off the Branches of *Popery*, because he dyed when but *Sixteen Years* old, so leaving the Root, it presently sprung up again when his Sister *Mary* Succeeded him in the Throne.

Remark 3.

Dr. *Thomas Fuller*, an *Episcopal Divine* in his History of this *Edward the VI.* hath this Passage, [For this Young King to Reform all at once, had been the ready way to Reform nothing at all; but now (saith he) there is more Light, more number of *Protestants*, less fear of *Papists*, therefore a thorough Reformation may now be more probable and practicable; instead whereof, shall we still run back to Rome: *Hinc illæ lacrimæ*, &c.

Remark 4.

'Tis true, King *Henry the VIII.* broke the Ice for his young Son, by Injoyning the *Lord's Prayer*, the *Creed*, and the *Ten Commandments*, to be translated into the *English Tongue*, and to be taught unto the Parishioners by all the *Parsons and Vicars*: Even this small step cost a Rebellion at *Lincoln, York, Hull*, &c. *Tanta molis erat Romanam condere gentem*: The Work of Reformation is a Work of great difficulty.

Remark 5.

Pass we over Queen *Mary's* Reign, which was a Reign of Deformation, &c. and come to the Reign of our *English Deborah*, Famous Queen *Elizabeth*, who renew'd and reviv'd K. *Edward's* Reformation again, but so retarded she was by so many Remora's in her Reforming Work, that she could not step up to the Pattern in the Mount, the Sacred Scriptures, the Word of God, which is [*Regula Regulans & Regulata*,] the Rule Ruling, as well as the Rule Ruled: 'Tis *Index sui & obliqui*, giving the truest Indication both of its own straightness, and of others crookedness: But alas, *Prudentials*, and *Politics* of State, then prevailed against that weaker Royal Sex; the over-topping Vogue was then, [*New Wine must be gently poured into old Bottles*,] least the strength of the Liquor, being advantag'd by the violence of the Infusion,
break

break the Vessel, &c. *Reformation* (cryed the *Grande*s of that Day) must be made by degrees, and *State-Politicians* must deal with the *Body-Politic*, (when sick, and swollen with Distempers) as the Skilful *Chyrurgeon* dealeth with an *Hydropick Person*, whose Body is almost drown'd with a Deluge of Water; the Cure is done by degrees, some Tap or Sluce must be opened, yet not to let go all at once, least the violent Effluviu, or flowing forth of the natural Spirits (together with the Peccant Morbifick Humour, constantly consequent) should destroy the Patient, and endanger him upon dry ground more than in those almost drowning Waters; but the Method is a *παρακέντησις*, the opening of a small Tap or Hole in the Skin, which may so run as to drain the Body gradually of its Dropsie, and by insensible degrees drawing out not above a Pint at a time, and never more at once, though many Gallons be designed for Evacuation: So *Politicians* will not make over large leaps at once.

Remark 6.

'Tis an excellent Observation of Famous Mr. Fuller concerning these *first Reformers*, whom he compareth to the Patriarch *Jacob*, who would not over drive his Tender Flock, saying, [I dare not march my Lord *Esau's* pace.] It may be easily presumed, that *Jacob* lookt upon his Brother as one very nimble of foot, because he so delighted to lead an *Huntman's* Life, and lived so much in Hunting his swift Game: Though *Jacob* himself could have lift up his feet (as he did when refreshed with the Vision of the Ladder, *Gen.* 28. 12. and 29. 1 *Hebr.*) and walk'd *Esau's* pace, yet would he not force his feeble Flocks to keep pace with *Esau*: Even so (saith Mr. Fuller) those *first Reformers* found *England* settled upon the *Lees*, having been long nouzell'd up in *Superstition*, &c. so could not be look'd upon as capable of a sudden and perfect Alteration, &c. Fuller's *Church Hist.* Cent. 16. B. 7. pag. 374. Notwithstanding all this, these Reformers have Right to a due Veneration for that most excellent Reformation they made in the *Doctrine* of the Church, considering what *Anakins*, and what *Goliaths* they had at that time to contend with, and how the whole World almost in that Day did wonder after the Beast, *Revel.* 13. 3. Yea, and a long and continued Custom for many Ages (saving the short Parenthesis of *K. Edward's* Reign) of training up every Generation in *Idolatry*, &c. had made it a *Law* or *Prescription*, yet were these Reformers most eminent Instruments in God's Hand, to carry on so courageously a *Doctrinal Reformation*, wherein they threw down the Walls of *Jericho*, by the sounding of *Rams Horns*, and put to flight the Armys of the Aliens, &c.

Remark 7.

It must evermore be acknowledged to the Eternal Honour of those choice and chief Champions of the true Church in that Day. How they knock'd
down

down the *prime Pillars*, or rather *Catterpillars* of the *Romish Church*, with their look beyond *Luther*, &c. who, when the *Romanists* ask'd them, *Where was your Religion before Luther?* Answered, it was in the *Sacred Scriptures*, where their *Romish Religion* could not be found, which they demonstrated to them by undeniable Arguments, inasmuch, that when the *Romanists* were sensibly foiled, and beaten out of the *Holy Scriptures*, they cry'd for their only *Reserve*, saying, [Let us forsake that *Field* wherein we are defeated with *Scriptum est*. it is written in *Gods Word*, &c. and let us rally all our Forces in the *Field* of the *Ancient Fathers*, wherein we may master them.] Here again the *Battel* was renew'd, and here again the *Romanists* were beaten out of their strong hold of *Tradition*, for the first Six Hundred Years after *Christ*, which is the whole term of time that deserves the Title of *Antiquity*: In this Controverſie our Learned *Whittaker* acted so eminently, that his *Antagonist Bellarmine* had his Picture in his Study, with this Inscription upon it, [*Quanquam Haereticum, Doctum tamen habeo Adversarium*:] Though this *Whittaker* be an *Heretick*, yet I find him a *Learned* one.

Remark 8.

Besides him many more Famous Worthys shone forth in their Orb in that day, as the *Queens Jewel*, *Bishop Jewel* and others, who all did excellently as to the *Doctrinal Reformation*, from the Corruptions of the *Romish Church*; but as to the *Discipline* of a Gospel-Church, they did not so much meddle with, perhaps, looking upon it as not pertaining to the *esse* or *Being*, but only to the *esse*, or *well-being* of the Church; and hence it came to pass, that so much *Romish Rubbish* still remain'd unremov'd, &c. whereby a Foundation was laid among the tenderest part both of *Pastors* and *People*, for *Nonconformity* from those *Altitudinarian Conformists*, who had writ upon their *Pillars*, a [*Ne plus Ultra*,] being resolv'd not to stir one step farther into the Work of *Reformation*: Whereas this seem'd a Sullenness much differing from the practice of their Piously Learned Predecessors; as (1st.) Holy Father *Latimer* had not rested in the *Reformation* made by *K. Henry VIII.* only Englishing the *Lords Prayer*, *Creed*, and *Ten Commandments* to the *People*, but he perswaded *K. Edward VI.* to step farther, that the *People* might have the whole *Divine Service* in their *Mother Tongue*, &c. Nor were blessed *Bucer*, and holy *Hooker* so fully satisfy'd with the first Purgation of the *Liturgy*, after it was extracted out of the *Papish Mass-Book* by *K. Edward's Divines*, they could not rest contented so, but perswaded the King to a second Purgation, as the *second Edition* of the *Service-Book* sheweth: Nor was *Q. Elizabeth* willing to rest in that *second Edition*, of *K. Edward's*, but Reformed divers things in it, though her Royal Brother had given it a second refining: Nor did this *Queens Divines* (*Jewel*, *Bensham*, *Pilkinton*, &c.) bring in their *Edition* with any such high Commendatory Character

Character, as [*Omnia bene,*] All are so well, as needs no Amendment, when they brought it to her Majesty for Authorizing it by her Royal Authority, &c.

Remark 9.

Besides all this, I might mention many more Amendments, which Reverend Mr. *Hugh's* computeth, were it not that it would too much swell this small Discourse, I refer only to it, &c. from whence we may mark, That as there was a [*plus ultra,*] or a stepping farther all along, in Reforming the means of Gods Worship, taken for granted; so there was a kind of *Nonconformity* found first in those Royal Persons, namely K. *Edward*, not conforming to that Reformation made by his Royal Father K. *Henry the VIII.*, and Queen *Elizabeth's* not conforming to that of her Royal Brother K. *Edward the VI.*: Nor ought we to *Despise that Day of small things*, *Zach. 4. 10.* but rather Adore Divine Goodness that reveal'd so much to them in their very first step out of *Poperie*. As we say of *Luther*, God is more to be Admired for revealing so much of the *Mystery of Divine Truth*, to him more especially, that main Fundamental point of *Justification*, &c. (wherein he is most excellent in his Comment upon the Epistle to the *Galathians*) than for leaving him to his own Mistakes about *Consubstantiation*: But the first grand *Nonconformist* to the Established Church of *England*, under that Protestant Queen, was Mr. *Thomas Cartwright*, who had her Royal Approbation at a Commencement in *Cambridge*, and after became *Professor of Divinity* there, and in his Lectures, he being occasion'd to discover his *Nonconformity* about *Church Discipline*, the Heads of the University took it heinously, as dangerous to the *Hierarchy*, and for which, notwithstanding his Universally admired Merit and Veneration, they got him at last Expell'd the University, when Dr. *Whitgift* was *Vice Chancellor*. Now when his Ministry was thus obstructed in *England*, he travell'd beyond Sea, where he Consorted with Famous *Beza*, who gave him this Character, [*The Sun never shone upon a more Learned Man,*] in a Letter *Beza* wrote to his Friend in *England*, Secondly, Many more *Nonconformists* appear after upon the Stage, as Mr. *Deering*, Mr. *Fox* the *Martyrologist*, with others, who drew up an Admonition to the *Parliament*, for the Reformation of the Church, which Dr. *Whitgift* (then made Archbishop of *Canterbury*) Answered, to which a Reply was made.

C H A P. II.

THIS Chapter is a more particular History of the first Separation from the *Church of England* as it was then constituted, in the Reign of *Q. Elizabeth*, by the Non-conformists of that time, who were partly of the *Presbyterial*, and partly of the *Congregational Judgment*, which the sequel may demonstrate.

The first Remark is, the Non-conformity of Mr. *Cartwright*, in these following Propositions, under his own hand-writing were,

As (1.) That the Names of *Arch-bishops* and of *Arch-deacons* ought to be abolished with all their Offices and Exercises of Power.

(2.) That the Names of the Legitimate Ministers in the Church, such as are *Bishops* and *Deacons*, so far as they are separated from those Functions that are simply set down in the Word of God, ought to be removed, and reduced to their first Apostolical Institution; namely, That the *Deacons* should serve the Tables of the Poor, and the *Bishops* give themselves to the Word and Prayer.

(3.) That the Government of the Church ought not to be committed to the *Chancellours* of *Bishops*, or to the Officers of *Arch-deacons*, but to a fit Ministry and Presbytery of the same Church.

(4.) That no Minister ought to be a Wanderer, or running at random, but every one should be fixed to his own proper place.

(5.) No Man ought to make himself Minister of any People by a *Mandamus* from the Sovereign to the Electors of such to officiate, &c.

(6.) Ministers ought not to be made by the Authority and Power of *Bishops* onely, much less in the *Bishop's Study*, or any private place; but should be chosen by the Church it self, &c. Concluding thus, That every Man is bound by his Calling to reform those Deformities; to wit, *Magistrates* by their Power, *Ministers* by their Preaching, and *People* by their Prayers. All jointly must promote this aforesaid Reformation: These were the Crimes for which Doctor *Whitgift*, then *Vice-chancellor*, expelled Mr. *Cartwright* out of *Cambridge*, after which, *K. James*, then King of *Scotland*, sent for him, profering to make him Professor of Divinity in the University of *St. Andrews*; and the *Arch-*

bishop of Dublin also sent for him into Ireland, profering him Preferment in that Kingdom: but the Earl of Leicester fixed him (after his Return from Travel beyond Sea) making him Master of the Hospital at Warwick, at which time that pestilent piece the *Rhemish Testament* came forth, and look'd on of such dangerous consequence, that it required the ablest Pen to answer it. Hereupon Sir Francis Walsingham (the Queen's right-hand and eye) courted Mr. Cartwright to the Undertaking, sent him an Hundred pound (few such gifts now-a days to *Non-conformists*) to furnish him for the Work. Yea, the Learned Doctors of Cambridge and the Ministers of London and Suffolk exhorted him to undertake it. Notwithstanding all this Arch bishop Whigfi sent him a positive *Prohibition*, fearing, saith Dr. Fuller, lest any of his Dry Blows and Distastfull Passages shot at Rome, might glance at Canterbury, Ch. Hist. Cent. 16. pag. 171.

The second Remark is, I, to avoid prolixity, am constrained to omit the many Stories of *Non-conformity* from Henry the VIII's Reformation, in his abolishing the Pope's Supremacy, and the abolishing of Abbies, &c. And of that under Edward the Sixth, which I have by me from Stow, Dr. Heylin, Sir Richard Baker, &c. but beg leave to insert one or two Stories out of peevish Peter Heylin, saying, The People might have rested in the Reformation of Edward the Sixth, if Calvin's pragmatistical Spirit (as he styles it) had not interposed: He first began to quarrel at some Passages in the Liturgy, and afterwards never left soliciting the Lord Protector and the Universities, till he had laid the first foundation of the Zuinglian Faction, to which they were encouraged by the Indulgence granted to John Alasco, who, bringing with him a mixed multitude of Poles and Germans, obtained the Privilege of a [*Non conformist*] Church, for him and his people, distinct from the Church of England in Government and Form of Worship: This much animated (saith he) the Zuinglian Gospellers to practise first upon the Church, and, being countenanced by the Earl of Warwick, then quarrelled with Episcopal Habits, against Copes, Tippetts, Surplices, &c. but at last fell upon the Altars which were left standing (as they had been in times of Popery) by the Rules of the Liturgy: Then were some rude People encouraged (saith he) under-hand by the Grandees of the Court to beat down some Altars, which made way for an Order of the Council Table to take down the rest, and set up Tables

bles in their places : Hereupon the costly Coverings of the Altars, together with their rich Priestly Garments (made of Cloth of Tissue, Cloth of Gold and Silver or embroidered Velvet, the meanest of them being made of Silk or Sattin, with some decent trimming) were handsomely converted to private use, for Carpets, Cushions, Coverlids, &c. for the Court Lords: This change (saith he) drew on the Alteration of the former *Liturgy*, but almost as displeasing to the *Zuinglian* Faction (so he brands the *Puritans* of that day by this Name) as the former was. In which conjuncture of Affairs *K. Ed.* died, whose death, saith he, I cannot reckon for an Infelicity to the *Church of England*, for he, being ill-principled in himself, and easily inclined to embrace such Counsels, would have put down Bishopricks also, and left the Church to her natural Nakedness. *Dr. Heylin's Preface to his History of Reformation.*

The third Remark is from *Dr. Helyn*, pag. 72, 75, 79, &c. After he had made the *Lord Protector* a most sacrilegious person, in pulling down Churches wherewith to build his *Somerset-House* in the Strand, &c. He brings in this Story of the bringing in of *Presbytery* into England; the Arch-bishop *Cranmer* sent for *Martin Bucer* and *Peter Martyr*, who were more addicted to the *Zuinglian* than the *Lutheran* Doctrines; the former was placed in the Doctor's Chair at *Cambridge*, holding correspondency with *Calvin*, but soon died; but the latter, *Peter Martyr*, in his *Divinity Lectures* at *Oxford*, declared himself a *Zuinglian*, and no fast friend to Ceremonies, (I add this to *Dr. Heylin*) saying, [*Ego, cum Canonicis Oxoniæ essem, super palliceis uti non auderem;*] I, while Canon of *Christ's Church* in *Oxford*, durst not wear a Surplice But the *Dr.* proceeds in his Story, how much the *Zuinglian* Gospellers were against the *Book of Homilies*, &c. and how *Dr. Hooper*, being design'd Bishop of *Gloucester*, refused to be consecrated by Arch-bishop *Cranmer* in such Habits as Bishops are required to wear by the Rules of the Church, which Refusal put a stop to his Consecration; but he, repairing to his Patron the Earl of *Warwick*, obtained his Letter to the Arch-bishop, desiring a forbearance of these Habits; adding also that it was the King's desire as well as his own; and requested farther, that he would not charge him with any Oath burthensome to his Conscience, namely, the Oath of *Canonical Obedience*: yea, the King likewise wrote to the same effect, and so the matter was compos'd with some

moderation. Thus Dr. Heylin. And many more *Non-conformities* the Dr. complains of too long to rehearse

The fourth *Remark* is, the History of *Non-conformity* in Q. Elizabeth's Reign, who had bravely repulsed Temptations of turning Papist in Q. Mary's time, with saying, [*My Soul is the Lord's, and as to my Faith, as I cannot change it, so neither will I dissemble it.*] This good Queen, finding all the Land lay fallow and over-grown with the Brambles of her Sister's Popery, was forced to this Resolve, *Not to reform all at once, but by little and little*: This slow progress therein brought up and introduced a Medley of Calvinists (as Dr. Heylin styles the *Non-conformists* at that time) in his *Hist. of Reform.* p 115. saying, Those Ministers that had been banish'd in the Reign of Q. Mary, and had followed (beyond Sea) the Platform of Geneva, returned so disaffected to *Episcopal Government*, and to the *Rites and Ceremonies* here by Law established, as not long after filled the Church, as he expresseth it, with sad Disorders. On which account, he saith, we find the Queen's Professor at Oxford to pass among the *Non-conformists*, though somewhat more moderate than the rest; and Cartwright at Cambridge (he doth not call him Doctor, nor so much as Master Cartwright) who proved, saith he, an unextinguishable Fire brand to the Church of England: beside him, there was Whittington (the chief Ring-leader of the Frankford Schismatics) preferred to the Deanry of Durbam, and from thence encouraging Knox and Goodman, in setting up Presbytery in the Kirk of Scotland, and Sampson was advanced to the Deanry of Christ's-Church, but turned out again, for an incorrigible *Non-conformist*; as likewise Hardiman, one of the first twelve Prebends of the Church of Westminster, who was soon after deprived, for throwing down the Altar and defacing the Vestments of the Church, &c.

The fifth *Remark*, Dr. Heylin proceeds in his Complaints, pag. 124. saying, The Queen having settled Ecclesiastick Affairs, the same Settlement of the Church of England might have longer continued, had not her Order been Confounded by some Factious Spirits (as he calls them,) who, having had their Wills at Frankfort, or otherwise Ruling the Presbytery when they were at Geneva, thought to have carry'd all before them with the like facility when they were in England. And again, pag. 131, 132. Some friends they had about the Queen, and Calvin was Resolved

solved to make use of all his Power both with the Queen and with *Cecill* (as appears by his Letters to both) to Advance their Ends ; and he was seconded by *Peter Martyr*, who thought his Interest in *England* to be greater than *Calvin's*, though his Name was not so eminent in other places ; but the Queen had fixed her self to keep up some outward Splendour of a Church, &c. No sooner those Schismatics of *Frankfort* saw *Episcopacy* settled and the *Liturgy* impos'd, &c. but they Revive the quarrels rais'd in King *Edward's* time, &c. *Grindal* the new Bishop of *London* was known to have a great Respect for *Calvin* and they two, by the help of their friends they had about the Queen, got liberty for a *French Church*, as *John Alasco* had in King *Edward's* time : But what was this (saith he) but setting up *Presbytery* to confront *Episcopacy*, and a *Common wealth* in the midst of a *Monarchy*, or (as the phrase is now) *Imperium in Imperio*. *Calvin* gives *Grindal* thanks for this favour, upon which many *French* and *Dutch* repaired into *England*, planted themselves in Sea-Towns, as well as in *London* openly professing the Reformed Religion. Again, pag. 144 he goes on, saying, Now nothing would satisfy our *Non-conformists* at Home, (being thus encourag'd with that liberty thus procured for those abroad) but the Nakedness and Simplicity of the *Zuinglian Churches*, the new fashions taken up at *Frankfort*, and the *Presbyteries* at *Geneva* ; and they drove on so fast upon it, that they took down the Steps where the Altar stood, and brought the Table into the midst of the Church in some places ; they laid aside *God fathers* and *God-mothers* in *Baptism* ; and *Lent* they look'd upon as Superstition and Festival days, &c. This Faction (saith he pag. 154) could not touch *Episcopacy* nor *Liturgy*, because established by Law ; but Caps, Tippets, Rochets, Lawn-sleeves and Surplices, &c (all having no better foundation than Superstitious Custom, or some old Popish Canon, &c.) they Assaulted : And when the book of the *Thirty-nine Articles* was publish'd, they bogg'd at the *Twentieth* about the Authority of the Church, and at the *Thirty-sixth* about the Consecration of *Arch-bishops*, &c. the book of *Homilies* they call'd beggarly Raiments, and other things not consisting with their Independency. The Doctor proceeds, [Of this factious Number, none so much Remarkable, as Father *John Fox* the Martyrologist, &c.] it was thought by the *Conformists* that the Opinion which

which was had of his *Parts* and *Piety* might much Advance *Conformity*, if the Heads of the Church could cause him to come over to them and *subscribe* the *Thirty-nine Articles*; hereupon he was Summon'd for his *Subscription*: He appear'd before the Bishop with his New-Testament in Greek, holding it in his hand, he said, [*Unto this book I will Subscribe; and if this will not Serve, take my Prebendary at Salisbury, the only Preferment which I hold in the Church of England, and much good may it doe you.*] But notwithstanding this Refractory Answer (saith the Doctor) so much kindness was shewed to him, that he both kept his *Resolution*, and his *Prebendary* together: * This was more favour then is shewn to any *Non-conformist* in this our Days. And to this the Doctor adds, That those *Genevians* (as he styles them) for the greater Countenancing of their *Non-conformity*, stirred up the most *Eminent Divines* of the *French* and *Zuinglian* or *Helvetian Churches* to Declare in favour of their Doings, &c.

The sixth Remark is, the Doctor tells us many long Stories, too large to transcribe. After his *Invectives* against the *Puritans*, so called (he saith) for pretending to a greater Purity in God's Worship, and against *Geneva Notes* upon 2 *Chron.* 8. 15, 16, &c. and against the Sawciness of *Knox*, and the bold Activities of *Beza* for upholding this *Puritan Faction*. He comes to *Cartwright*, against whom he exclaims for sowing his Seed of *Non-conformity* in *Cambridge* it self, and so that it could never be Rooted out to this Day. Who exceeded (he saith) in Acting more than any of the *Puritan Faction*: He preached All the Fellows and Scholars of his Colledge out of their Surplices, &c. *Heylin's Hist. of Presbytery*, pag. 263. He set up a *Presbyterial Church* at *Wandsworth* by the Water side, near *London*, *Novemb.* 20. in the Year 1572. He introduced his *Discipline* into the Islands of *Fersey* and *Gernsey*, and in the *English Church* at *Middleburgh* in *Zealand*, and in the *Dutch Church* here in *London*; yea he prevailed so far (with the Assistance of the *Earl of Leicester*, *Lord-Treasurer Burleigh*, &c.) that a Meeting of Sixty Ministers out of *Essex*, *Cambridge* and *Norfolk* was Held at *Cork-bill* where *Knewstubbs* was Minister, *May* the 8th. in the Year 1582. and the like Meeting was Held at *Cambridge*, &c. After this (saith he) their book of *Discipline* being published, was nowhere more welcom than in *London*, the Wealth and Pride of which

which City was never wanting to support such, &c. pag. 213. The several Churches they had in the City they Reduced into one general *Classis*, in which either *Cartwright*, or *Egerton*, or *Travers* were for the most part *Moderatours*. This was their chief Tribunal and supreme Consistory they held for the whole Nation : But in the Country none appear'd more forward, than those of *Northampton*, *Darventry* and *Nottingham* and the *Device* (as he calls it) is taken up in most parts of *England*, but especially in *Warwickshire*, *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Essex*, &c. In these *Classes* they Determined Points of Doctrine, Interpreted hard places of Scripture, Delivered their Resolution in such Cases of Conscience, as were brought before them ; Decided Doubts and Difficulties touching *Contracts of Marriage*, &c. And whatsoever was concluded by such as were present, (yet still with Reference to the better Judgment of their *London-brethren*) became forthwith binding to the Rest ; none being admitted into any of the aforesaid *Classes* before he had promised under his Hand, that he would Submit himself, and be Obedient unto all such *Orders* and *Decrees*, as were set down by the *Classis* to be observed. At these *Classes* they enquired into the Life and Doctrine of all that had subscribed unto them, *Censuring* some, and *Deposing* others as they saw occasion. Unto every *Classis* there belonged a *Register*, who took the Heads of all that passed, and saw them carefully entred into a Book for that purpose, that they might remain upon Record. This is *Dr. Heylin's* Relation in full of the progress of *Presbytery* in this Nation.

Moreover, *Dr. Heylin* observes that in *Q. Elizabeth's* 7th. Year of her Reign, the *Calvinists* began first to be called *Puritans* ; and in her 8th Year the Government of the Church by *Arch-bishops* and *Bishops* was Confirmed, which when the *Presbyterians* saw settled, they began (saith he) to play their Game ; and the more, because the *Presbyterians* prevailed now in *Scotland*.

I have been the larger in Quoting *Dr. Heylin*, because the Testimony of an Adversary [to *Non-conformists*] is always look'd upon as a double, and so the strongest Testimony.

The seventh *Remark* take here in few words. *Sir Richard Baker's* Testimony also, who saith, That in the *Eleventh* Year of
Queen

Queen Elizabeth's Reign there arose a Sect, openly Condemning the Received Discipline of the Church of England, together with the Church-Liturgy and the very Calling of Bishops.

This Sect (saith Baker) so mightily encreased, that in the Sixteenth Year of her Reign the Queen and whole Kingdom were extreemly troubled with them: And again, in a Parliament held the 26th Year of her Reign, the Puritan Party laboured to have Laws made in order to the Destroying of the Church of England, and the setting up of their own Sect: And again, in her 28th Year the Queen gave a Special Charge to Whigist, Arch-bishop of Canterbury, to settle an Uniformity in the Ecclesiastical Discipline, which now almost lay a gasping; and at this time the Sect of Brownists (derived from one Robert Brown, who Patroniz'd the most Rigid sort of Separation from the Church of England) did much oppose the National Church. Again, in her One and Thirtieth Year, the Puritan flames brake forth again; and in her Thirty-sixth Year the severity of the Laws were executed upon Henry Barrow and his Sectaries for Condemning the Church of England as no Christian Church. Thus Sir Richard Baker, &c.

The eighth Remark is, This Severity of the Conformists against the Non-conformists in Depriving them of their Benefices and other Preferments in the Church, (beside their later Cruelty to them) went as Alarming news, flying both into France and Scotland. Hereupon (saith Dr. Heylin in his History of Presbytery, pag. 252.) both Beza out of France, and Knox with his Comrades out of Scotland interpose themselves in behalf of their Brethren: As to Knox (saith he) a Letter was wrote by him and sent in the Name of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, wherein the Church-Vestments are call'd Trifles and Rags of Rome, &c. But Beza (saith he) writes with more Authority from France, as being the greater Patriarch, unto Grindal of greater Matters than Caps and Surplices, but complains of Suspending these Men from their Ministry for not Subscribing to some new Ceremonies impos'd upon them, and that the Bishops had too much power, and excepts against many other things. So good a foundation (saith he) being laid, the Building could not chuse but go on a pace. In the Course of which Fabrick, they have continually a Recourse to this Beza, as to their Master Workman, answering all their Scruples and

And the Dr. adds, the *Presbyterians* had many powerful Friends at Court, as the Earl of *Leicester*, Lord *North*, *Knolls*, and *Walsingham*, which so encourag'd them, that they met together in *Houses*, *Woods*, *Barns*, and *common Fields*, where they kept their *Conventicles*, pag. 252, 259, 262, 263. until at last (saith he pag. 271.) They resolved against the Episcopal, and endeavour'd to erect the *Presbyterial Government*, concluding their Vote thus, [Whereas divers Books have been written, and sundry Pétitions have been exhibited to her Majesty, the Parliament and their Lordships to little purpose, every man should therefore labour by all means possible, to bring the Reformation into the Church] and 'twas then and there resolved, [That for the better bringing on of the said *Holy Discipline*, they should not only as well publicly as privately teach it, but also by little and little as well as possible they could, draw the same into practice.] Hereupon a *Presbytery* was erected at that small Village in *Surry* called *Wandsworth*, as is aforesaid, and *Grindal* being translated from the See of *York* unto that of *Canterbury*, gave great hopes to the *Presbyterians*, who soon found how plyant he was like to prove unto their expectation, which happen'd accordingly, for he sought in all things to promote their Designs, and made great Alterations in the *Church of England*, &c.

The 8th. Remark. The *Commissaries Court*, that had been so severe against the *Nonconformists* all along began to learn more mildness in the latter end of *Queen Elizabeth's* Reign, as appeareth by that instance of *Mr. Richard Sedgwick*, the Minister at *Battersey* in *Surry*, who was persecuted by one *Mr. King* Churchwarden of the place, and was presented by him into the *Bishops Court*, and cited to answer there the Articles he had to object against him, principally for his exclaiming against those Corruptions that then were in the *Church of England*; the good Minister courageously appeared, to defend what he had preached; but appearing before the *Commissary*, beyond his expectation, he met with courteous Usage, and was friendly dismissed; The Reason is rendered, because those kind of high flown persecuting *Conformists* feared some remarkable change to be brought in by *K. James's* coming to the Crown, who had been train'd up by the *Kirk of Scotland* in the *Presbyterial* way: See *Mr. Rich. Sedgwick's Life* writ by *Mr. Clark*, pag. 357. in *Fol. N. B.* Thus might I carry on this History of *Nonconformity*, both through *K. James the First*, and *K. Charles the First*, yea, and *Charles the Second*, and *James the Second*; but this would make a Volume

All that can be contain'd here, is the History of the *Infancy* of it in the first Reformerers. -

C H A P. III.

Remark 1st. **U**Pon K. James's Reiga in the year 1605. at *Hamp-ton-Court*, he calls an *Assembly of Divines* to confer about the *Liturgy* and *Church Government*, where he told them, that his End of calling them together was not to make any Alteration, which was not requisite, seeing he found all things so well settled already, but like a wise *Physician*, he would search into the supposed Diseases, and remove the occasion of Complaints, whereupon the Prelates of his Privy Council were dismissed, and the *Monday* after he calls in the complaining *Doctors*, telling them, he meant not to alter the *Church Government*, so well settled already, but to settle *Uniformity* and *Unity*, &c. Dr. Reynolds the Foreman, reduceth their Grievances to these four Heads. First, For preserving true *Doctrine*. Secondly, For placing Good *Pastors*. Thirdly, For sincere *Church-Government*. And, Fourthly, For explaining some passages in the *Service-Book*. Of this Conference, &c. I must refer my Reader to Mr. Fuller's *Church History*, who (according to his Name,) gives a fuller Account, than this small Treatise is capable of: Some brief touches make,

Remark the Second. Mr. Fuller saith, that Dr. Barlow, (then an opposite to the *Nonconformists*,) doth not give an impartial Relation of this Conference: Whereupon he wittily saith, If the *Israelites* be forced to whet their Tools with the *Philistims*, no wonder if the *Philistims* set a sharper edge on their own, and a blunter upon their enemies *Weapons*, he was a *Party* and so was partial in favouring the *Conformists*, &c. but Mr. Fuller. Cent 17. Book 10. pag. 21. &c. Saith, here was great odds; only these four (*Reinolds*, *Knewstubs*, *Spark*, and *Chaderton*,) called to cope with 8 Bishops, 8 Deans, and two Doctors, beside the *King* and his *Privy Council*: Nor were they called to have their Scruples satisfied, but his Pleasure propounded; the King call'd them not, that he might know what they could say, but that they might know what he would do in the matter. For tho they petition'd for a full Reformation of *Church-Service*,

Service, Livings, Ministers, and Discipline, and that with a *Millenary Petition*, subscribed with about a thousand *Ministers hands*, yet got they not the Kings Ear, but he cryed to them [*No Bishop no King, and as they dealt with my mother, so would they deal with me. I'll make you conform, or banish you, &c.*] But he order'd a new Translation of the Bible (differing from that of *Geneva*,) charging the Translators to keep the old Ecclesiastick words, as *Church* and no *Congregation*, and *Easter*, &c. and not to make any marginal Notes as were in the *Geneva Bibles*, against which he much exclaimed, and more especially its Notes upon *Exod. 1. 19.* which allows Disobedience to Kings; and on *2 Chron. 15. 16.* saying, *Asa thou have kill'd the Queen*, and not *deposed* her only.

Remark the Third. Mr. Fuller says further, when Dr. Reynolds was complaining against *Arminian Doctrine*, lazy Ministers bad Government of the Church and Common Prayer, &c. saying, It was the cry of the People, Such a *Church*, &c. will bring the Souls of the Nation into a faint and feeble condition, having no warm meat provided for them, save only the cold *Homilies*, and the *Starve-us-Book*, &c. Bishop *Bancroft* at this *Hampton-Court Conference*, answered only with urging that old Canon (*Schismatici contra Episcopos non sunt audiendi*,) Schismatics ought not to be heard in their complaining against the Bishops, and said, He was beholden to the King to suffer him thus to speak against the *Liturgy*, contrary to the Statute in the first year of Q. *Elizabeth*; and that probably he was of the same mind with Mr. *Cartwright*, who would conform in Ceremonies rather to the *Turks*, than to the *Papists*. Book. 10. pag. 11. Cent. 17. And the same Bishop *Bancroft* bade K. *James* remember the Speech of the *French Ambassador Rognée*, who said, That if the Reformed Church in *France* had kept the same Order both in *Service* and in *Ceremonies*, there would have been a thousand more *Protestants* than there be in that Land, intimating, that if the *Protestants* there had embraced the same *Service* and *Ceremonies* with the *Prelates* in *England*, (which they could not do, but differed from them,) the *Popish Party* in *France* would have been pleased with them; and their *Conformity* would have prevented the *Parisian Massacre*. pag. 15. The same Bishop said likewise, That in a Church newly planted, *Preaching* is most necessary; but it is not so in a Church long established as ours is, whereby his Design was to thrust out *Sermons* as unnecessary, by the more necessary *Service-Book*. pag. 15.

Remark the Fourth But the Lord Chancellor said at that same Hampton Court Conference, that Church-Livings at that time wanted rather *Learned-men*, than Learned men any Church-Livings. Many such pinning for want of Places through their *Nonconformity*; and to this Complaint he added, That he wished every Learned man were supplied with a *single Coat*, to wit, *one Church-Benefice*, before that others be thatched on with double and treble Coats, in their *Pluralities*, &c. p. 16. Mr. *Knewstubb* the *Nonconformist* at the same Conference said, ('Put the case, 'That the Church hath Power to add any significant Signs, it may not 'add them where *Christ* hath already ordered them. This derogates from 'the Authority of *Christ*, as much as if any should presume to add 'any thing to the *Great Seal of England*, &c.) These few instances I have inserted in this small Tract out of Mr. *Fuller*, who was a famous *Episcopal Divine*, &c.

Remark the Fifth. Tho King *James* was look'd upon by the *Prelates*, as no better than an *Arrant Puritan*, when he came first to the Crown of *England*, and was the first King that ever was proclaimed K. of *Great Britain, France, and Ireland*, yet *Cluverius* testifies of him, That he left the *Church of England* as he found it at the Death of *Q. Elizabeth*, without any Reformation or Redress of Grievances therein; insomuch, that some (severely enough) describing his Court and Character, discover much of his *King craft*, even such as were Eye-witnesses, or Ear-witnesses thereof, and so making good his own Motto (*Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit Regnare*,) He that cannot Dissemble ought not to Reign. Mr. *Fuller* tells us, That in his time Archbishop *Abbot's* stiffness about the Earl of *Essex's* Divorce, &c. though it was to his eternal Honour in not complying with the *Bawdy Bishops*, yet the King and Court were his Foes for it ever after; and above all, Bishop *Land* (whom he calls *Filius ante diem*,) sets himself against him, and as if not content to succeed him, he endeavour'd to supplant him, as if a falling Tree stood in need of felling, he being now exceeding old. *Fuller. Ch. Hist. Cent. 17. B. 11. p. 128.*

C H A P. IV.

BUT leaving K. *James*, as he left his Throne to K. *Charles* the First, a few Remarks upon his Reign: As, First, Mr. *Fuller* tells us, how Bishop *Land* (that grand Master of Ceremonies, &c.) had entred

entred into his *Diary*, that the *Parliament* in the fourth year of *Charles the First*, *Anno Dom* 1628. did earnestly endeavour his Destruction. *Cent.* 17. *Book* 11. *pag.* 132. In which *Parliament* Mr. *Pryn* charges Dr. *Manwaring* that he taught (The *Consciences* of *Subjects* are bound to obey illegal *Commands*, &c. yea, and damns them in case of *Disobedience*, &c.) Relating likewise, how Dr. *Coxens* set up in *Durham* a marble *Altar* with *Cherubims*, which cost Two thousand Pound, and he made a *Gaudy Cope* with the *Trinity* Embroider'd upon it, whercon was God the Father in the figure of an Old Man, and another with a *Crucifix* and *Christs* Image having a Red Beard, and a Blew Cap upon his Head, &c. And how this same Dr. lighted two hundred Wax Candles about his *Altar* upon *Candlemas-Day*: And how he forbad singing of *Psalms*, but Commanded *Anthems* to be Sung, and among the Rest, an *Anthem* of the three *Kings* of *Colain*, *Gaspar*, *Belthazar*, and *Melchior*, &c. And how this Dr. procured a Consecrated Knife wherewith to cut his *Sacrament Bread*, &c. *Ibidem.* *pag.* 173.

The 2d. Remark. Is that of Mr. *Fuller's* saying, those high *Prelates* call (the Bp. of *Armagh*. Dr. *Usher*, D. *Morton*, Dr. *Hall*, Dr. *Sanders*, Dr. *Brownrigg*, Dr. *Holdsworth*,) all those famous *Doctors*, a Company of *Puritanical Bishops*, that were *Doctrinal*, tho' not *Disciplinary Puritans*, who said that the *Doctrine* of the *Council of Trent*, was preached by these *Bishps*. *Fuller.* *Ch. Hist.* *pag.* 174. 175.

Remark the third. Mr. *Fuller* relateth how the grievances of *Arch-Bishop Williams* did much hasten, if not chiefly cause the Suppression of that *Ecclesiastick Court*, the *Star Chamber*, the two *Arch-Bishops* being therein engaged against each other, *pag.* 159. and likewise how the *Convocation* in the Year 1640. had full Commission from King *Charles* the 1st. either to alter the old canons, or to make new ones; which Royal Power had not been granted for many Years before. *Fuller, ibidem.* *pag.* 168. And how (after that *Parliament* was dissolved) the *Convocation* still sat, wherein no fewer than thirty six of themselves were *Dissenters* among them; but their Oath obliged them, that none should ever give consent to the altering of the *Church Government*; which Oath seemed to Abridge the Liberty and Authority of both King and *Parliament*, who had a power of alteration when they saw cause for it. Beside, this Oath (saith he) had
a windy

a Windy,, [*Et cetera*] in it, a *Cheverel* word, which like a *Cheverel* joint, might be stretched out at pleasure: This same figure [*&c.*] in the Oath, the Witty Poet *Cleveland* (my Contemporary in the University) call'd the *Curled Lock* of *Anti-Christ*: And tho time was given for Conforming to this (*Et cetera Oath*) until the twenty ninth of September, to deliberate upon it, yet some over active Bishops (saith Mr. Fuller) did presently press the Oath upon some Ministers, yea, and to take this *Bishop's* Oath kneeling, which is a Ceremony (saith he) that is never exacted nor observed in taking the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy to the King. pag. 171. And how Dr. Turner in his Convocation Sermon blamed some Bishops for their being too meek and moderate, and bidding them, that with equal strictness they would press forward an *Universal Conformity*: And indeed they did as he had them, pushing End-ways this matter of Conformity, until they set all the Kingdom into a Flame, in the late Civil *Uncivil Wars*, &c.

Remark the Fourth. By all the aforesaid (tho' it be not the Tenth part of what Mr. Fuller saith, &c.) It cannot be wordred at, that so many *Nonconformists* (both of the *Presbyterial* and *Congregational* Judgment) have separated themselves from such a *Church of England*, so Characterized not only by Dr. Ames, in his fresh suit against Ceremonies; and Mr. Robinsons Justification of a separation from the *Church of England*, and the Remonstrance of Mr. Cartwright Subscribed by a thousand Ministers here in England; beside Zanchy's Epistle to the Queen at large, all which and many more Authors of that Subject I have by me: To say nothing of Calvin, Beza, &c. This Mr. Fuller being an *Episcopal Divine*, tells Tales enow out of his Church, for which doing, he could rise no higher than a poor *Prebendary*. Let him be *Instar omnium*, &c.

Remark the Fifth. If any enquire more after the particular Reasons of the *Nonconformists* Separation from the *Church of England*, take this brief Account as this Tract will admit of, &c.

Reason the 1st. Upon the same ground that the *Church of England* separateth from *Rome*, do we separate from them. Dr. Stillingfleet in his *Dialogue* for justifying their Separation from *Rome*, saith, pag. 165. [*We think the Requiring of doubtful things for certain, false for true,*

new for old, absurd for Reasonable, is ground enough for us not to embrace communion with that Church, unless it may be had upon better terms.

Now let the Mouth of this battering Cannon be but turn'd against the Church of England, as 'tis there against the Church of Rome, it will assuredly give as loud a Report, and do as much Execution for us in justifying our Separation as well as theirs; Seeing there are Imposed on us, *Doubtful things for certain, &c.* And we think this is ground enough for us, as well as for themselves, not to Embrace the Communion of such a Church: Why may not our (*we think so*) be as good as their (*we think so?*) Why may not our Rouland be as good as their Oliver? What is good Sauce for a Goose, may be as good Sauce for a Gander, &c.

Reason the 2d. A Comparison betwixt the *Primitive* and the *Present English Church*: The *Nonconformists* find a great many *Humane Inventions* in the latter, that were never Divine Institutions in the former; Such as Cathedral Musick, with Organs, Chancellours, Commissaries, Officials, *Pompous Prelates*, with sole Power of Ordination and Excommunication, Calling of Ministers without the express consent of the Congregations, over which they are placed; Ministers going to Law for their Places, *Pluralities*, *Non Residents*, *Dumb Curates* *Simony*, *Prophane Contemners of Religion* made Members of the Church; Carnal proceedings in Spiritual Courts; Bribes for Ordinations, Citations, Absolutions, and many more such *Additional*s of the same Brann, whereof there was not the least shew or shadow allowed in the *Primitive Church*. Now the *Noncons* Argue with their Lord and Master, [*Non erat sic ab initio, nec ab instituto*] It was not so from the Beginning, nor Christ's Institution, therefore our [*we think*] steps higher into [*We are sure*] Such *Devised Ceremonies* as *Surplice*, *Crossing*, *Kneeling*, &c, ought not to be Embraced, having none of Christ's Mark, but rather of *Anti Christ's* upon them, 'tis a *Symbolizing with Rome*, &c.

Reason the 3d. A free Assent and Consent cannot be given to such *Innovations* wherewith the meer *Prudentials* of *Byassed-Church* Governours have spoiled the *naked Truth*, and simplicity of the Gospel. What was it but *Humane Prudence* in those Corrupter times succeeding the *Apostles*, that formed new Churches, new Officers, &c. Wholly differing from those Instituted by Christ and his *A-*
postles;

pastors; for then it was pretended, that to keep Peace among the *Pastors* of particular Churches, they devised a *Bishop* to be set over them, and to keep the *Bishops* from falling together by the Ears, they Invented an *Arch-Bishop*, and because thole *Metropolitans* might possibly quarrel, they found out a *Patriarch* to keep them in peace; and lastly, because *Patriarchs* were subject to the same Passions with other Men, they from the like Prudentials Instituted a *Pope*, and placed him in the Infalible Chair, to overtop them all, and to Hector them with his Bulls into a *due Decorum*. The same may be said of all other unscriptural Additions and Innovations in the Worship of God, both as to *Service* and as to *Ceremony*, &c. Which we cannot have Faith for, being the *Devices* of Men, and not the *Appointments* of God; Now without Faith 'tis impossible to please God, Heb. 11. 6. and whatever is not of Faith is Sin. Rom. 14. 23. We may not offer to God, what we think will displease him, and is a sin against him.

Reason the 4th. The Law of Love and Charity, commanded by God to be the Temper and Character of the True Church, is by the Church of England changed into a Law of Uncharitable Compulsion, Severity, and Persecution, which are evermore the Marks of the false Church; as of the Church of Rome, which by their mischievous Impositions upon the Consciences of Men, their meer Pretensions, hath filled most Nations of Europe with Bloody Massacres and Martyrdom. Tentimes more Blood of the tenderest Christians hath been shed by that false Church, than was shed in all the ten Primitive Pagan Persecutions: All that dissent from them, may say, *Quæ Regio in Terris nostri non plena Crucis?* Is there any Nation in Europe, that is not filled with our Blood? Now where-ever this Spirit of Persecution turns up Trump, and is Regnant, Raging and Triumphant, there is like Mother, like Daughter, an Evil Spirit from the Devil himself, that Envious and Evil one, the Spirit of Cain, who, (as Luther saith) will be clubbing his Brother Abel to the end of the World; 'tis the Spirit of a Pharisee that Compels Saviors to Blaspheme. Act. 26. 11. and saith to that See of Knowledge (which the Lord hath promised shall fill the Earth as the Waters cover the Sea, Isa. 11. 9.) Thus far thou shalt go in Conformity and no further, which is only God's Prerogative, Job 38. 11. How can we give the Right-hand of Fellowship to such a Persecuting Church? &c.

Reason

C H A P. I V.

R *Eason* the Fifth. O here be too many High-flown Church-Men, that do assert *Arminianism* to be the *Doctrin* of the *Church of England*, thinking thereby to force all into an Embracement of it: And some do hold up all *Canons*, not only made in *England*, but in *Rome* it self (if not repugnant to our *Law*)s labouring to possess the People, that all these are settled by *Law*, and therefore to be continu'd and imposed without Alteration; and that all who seek a Reformation of them, do violate the Establish'd *Laws* of the Land; as the Rigour of *Conformity* to those *Canons*, did cost the casting forth of many able, godly and useful Ministers, in Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, and of many more under King *James*, notwithstanding the *Conference* at *Hampton-Court*; yet many Illegal *Canons* were made and Inforc'd so far to be subscribed unto, that within the space of two years, 70 worthy Ministers were Deprived *ab Officio & Beneficio*; and 113 were Suspended and not suffered to Preach, and about 94 more were under *Canonical Admonition*, the next door to Deprivation. I need not add the horrible Effects which *Canonical Obedience*, and severe *Conformity* produced under the Reign of King *Charles* the First, such Confusions as turn'd *England* into an *Aceldama*, a Field of Blood in the Civil Wars, abhorred to be mentioned, and trembled at to remember, wherein Father was against Son, and Son against Father, &c.

—— *Quis talia fando*
Temperet a Lachrymis? ——

'Tis fresh in some of our Memories. Nor need I mention the Reign of King *Charles* the Second when the black *Bartholomew* Act for Uniformity, turn'd out about three thousand Ministers from their Ministry, omitting the Exile of many Ministers and People into *America* before: Many more Reasons might be added, which this small Tract is not capable to comprehend; I shall add only one more.

Reason the Sixth. The great Growth of Popery hath been usher'd in at this Door, as *Adam Contzenus* the Jesuit directeth, for restoring Popery, before the People be awake: In his Politicks, lib. 2. cap. 16, 17, 18. &c.

His Sixth Rule is, to make use of the *Protestant Dissensions*, forcing the *Puritans* to approve of Bishops, the Magistrate joyning with the *Conformists*, easily overturns the *Nonconformists*; as *Paul* did by the Dissention between the *Pharisees* and *Sadducees*, joyning to one Side, he escaped. Discords 'twixt *Lutherans* and *Calvinists*, 'twixt *Arminians* and *Anti-Arminians*, are the best Musick to *Romanists*. These are the finest Tools out of *Julian's* Shop, and refined in *Machiavels*, with his [Divide and Rule:] As the *Imposing of Creeds* usher'd in the Pope at the first, to end Controversies; so the *Imposing of Ceremonies* may again usher in Popery; As bloody *Bonner* said, *If they like our Pottage so well, we will make them eat our Beef also*, &c.

CHAP. V.

The Differences betwixt the Brethren of the Presbyterial and Congregational Judgment, come next to be discours'd.

Remark the First is, when the *Reduction of Episcopacy* to its Primitive Form, by that *Learned, Humble, Holy, Peaceable* and Reverend Bishop Doctor *Usher* was tendered, and consented to by *Dr. Holdsworth*, *Dr. Brownrigg*, *Dr. Reynolds*, and other *Learned Doctors*; It was greatly hoped, that this would have given Content: But the high-flown Prelate, neither so Gracious, nor so Learned, nor such Lovers of the Church's Peace, as was that *Learned Primate of Ireland*, broke all the Measures for Accommodations, both at the latter end of *K. Charles I's* Reign, and at the beginning of *K. Charles II's* Restoration: Hereupon the Brethren both of the *Presbyterial* and of the *Congregational Way* were constrained to shift, as well as they could, for themselves.

Remark the Second is, at or towards the end of *K. Charles I's* Reign, before the Civil Wars broke forth, the Brethren of both those Perswasions, made their Joynt and Humble Applications to the *Parliament*, that then sat at *Westminster*, for Protection and Peace; which though *Nonconformity* had been for former Ages a *Naphali*, wrestling continually for it, but could never obtain it at the *Prelate's* Hand, yet now obtaineth it by God's Graciousness at the

the Hands of this *Healing Parliament*, who indeed did not look upon those two Perswasions, as two *distinct Parties*, (This is a meer Misrepresentation of them by capricious *Conformity*) they being really and in Truth but *one* and the same *Party*, having only made use of differing Expressions, to declare their own Minds each to other, and that without Schism, or setting up of *Churches* against *Churches*, but holding Communion one with another in their Members, as they had occasion so to do, &c.

Remark the Third Dr. *Stillington* doth indeed make the Breach wider betwixt those Brethren, than it really was, saying, [in his Sermon of the *Mischief of Separation*] that the *Assembly of Divines* urged their *Dissenting Brethren* to comply with their *Rules of Government*, and charged them with *Schism* if they refused to do it. All which is a meer Mis-report out of the Papers of Accommodation, betwixt the Brethren of those two Perswasions: For in Truth it was not the *Assembly of Divines* themselves, but only (as one wittily calls them) a *Subter Sub-Committee*, who declared something that tended towards the *Allegation*, as the private Opinion of some of them (wherein they might be mistaken) but did not deliver it as the final Determination of the whole *Reverend Assembly*. And the Dr. hath mis-reported the matter of Fact; for the Order of *Parliament*, Nov. 6. 1645. which empowered the Committee to Act, instructed them (to endeavour an Union, if possible, of the different Opinions of the Assembly in point of Church-Government; and in case that cannot be done, to find out some way that tender Consciences, not submitting in all things, might be born with, &c.) and the then *Dissenting Brethren* professed a plenary Subjection to the Substance of God's Worship, though they differed in some *Punctilio's* or small Circumstances of Church Government only. Yea, and after all the Alterations and Debates, between these two Perswasions in that *Sub-Committee*, it was at last resolved, that the Brethren Dissenting in small points of Discipline, should be Indulged.

Remark the Fourth. As it may not be denied, That some single Persons of both Perswasions were sometimes too rigid and stiff in their Private Sentiments, such as Mr. *Edwards* was in his *Gangrena*, &c. on the one hand, and such as Mr. *Stern* was in his *Deliverance* from the *Northern Presbytery*, on the other hand: So it cannot but be confessed, There were many more of both Perswasions that were very learned, and more wisely moderate, instancing only in two of great
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Figure among *Presbyters*, namely Reverend Mr. Thomas Coleman, a Member of that *Assembly*, who hath this Passage, (*The Presbyterian way, and those that walk therein, I embrace and love: The congregational way, and those that practise it, I approve and honour, both are alike to me*) See his *Epistle* to the *House of Commons*, to whom he preached upon *Jeb. 11. 20. July 30. 45.* and reverend Mr. Charles Herle, the *Prolocutor* to the *Assembly of Divines*, saith thus, (*The Difference between us and our Congregational Brethren is not so wide as some suppose; we do but, with Abraham and Lot, take several ways, we are (as Abraham speaks) Brethren still, and (as they were) ready to rescue each other on all Occasions from the Common Enemy; our Difference, 'tis such as doth at most but ruffle a little the Fringe, not any way rend the Garment of Christ; 'tis so far from being Fundamental that it is scarce material, &c.*) See his *Epistle* before his *Treatise of Independency*. And on the other side, the *Prudence and Moderation* of D. Thomas Goodwin, Mr. Jeremy Burroughs, &c. is too well known to be here inserted.

Remark the Fifth, more particularly, both those Persuasions do agree, (1) in having only such Officers as Christ himself hath appointed, namely, *Pastors* and *Teachers*, *Elders* and *Deacons*. (2) Such *Spiritual Censures* of *Admission*, *Admonition*, &c. for guarding God's *Ordinances*, and for guiding his *Flock*, &c. (3) In liberty of electing their own *Church-Officers*, &c. (4) In a *Power* to keep their own *Congregations* from being leavened, and the *Ordinances* of Christ from being polluted by Officers within themselves; and so in many more material Points, too long here to relate, as may amply appear in the *Heads of Agreement* assented to by both. The only main Difference, wherein they disagree, is about the last Appeal, Whether their *Classes* or *Synods* be *Authoritative* for Censures, or only *Suasory* and *Consultative*, and in Case Advice be not followed, a *Non-communication* only proceedeth, in Cases too difficult for single *Congregations*: This Difference, Reverend Mr. Herle, in his Preface before quoted, most excellently qualifies and extenuates, as neither a material, nor so much as a formal Difference; 'Tis, (saith he) but the better or the worse way for the Exercise of the same Form of Discipline, that is the Question: The [that it be] and [what it be] and [which it be] is agreed on among us: 'Tis but the [whose it be] we differ in; and hercin too, not so much [whose it be] neither, as [where it be] whether in every *Congregation* apart, or of the same Men, joyned with the like of other *Congregations*

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in a Synod, &c. And Mr. Herle there concludes thus, *Whatever our Differences be, let not the Devil hold the Perspective-glass, either to magnifie or multiply them: Let us pray them less, but not argue them more, &c.* Unto which let me add from another Hand, That this Difference about the last Appeal may be compared to that betwixt two Citizens of London, who contested in Discourse, Which of them two should go first into the Gates of some Foreign Remote City, as Venice, when possibly neither of them might ever have any Occasion or Opportunity to go thither, so far from Home, at all: Accordingly the Churches of Christ may not for many Ages have any Occasion for this last Appeal; and therefore Disputes about it ought not to disturb Publick Peace.

C H A P. VI.

Some General Remarks upon the Heads of this Late Happy Agreement betwixt the Ministers of both those Perswasions, now Unanimously United in the transcendent Bond of Peace and Unity of Spirit.

THE First Remark is, Long hath this Unity been laboured after, even for many Years, both in City and Country; and tho those Unhappy Differences have been most happily composd in some Countries, in this Nation, and amicable Agreements have been solemnly consented unto, and comfortable Communion hath been carried on by Ministers of both Perswasions; as in those two remote Counties of Cumberland and Westmerland, in the Year 1656. And likewise in Yorkshire and Lancashire afterwards, the former giving Light to the latter: Wherein, to my own personal Knowledge, that old Rule was not observed, (*If the Bank will not come to the Boat, the Boat will not come to the Bank, that they might never meet*) for there were mutual Condescensions on both the Bank's-Side and on the Boat's-Side, &c. Nor may I omit what Light was given to both these aforesaid by that Christian Concord managed by Reverend Mr. Baxter in Worcestershire, before either of them, in the Year 1653. Likewise must I mention that candid Spirit in Apollonius, the Presbyter at Meidulburg in Zealand, manifested in his Learned and Loving Letter, to the five Authors of the Apologetical Narration, Tho. Goodwin, Phil. Nye, Guil. Bridge, Jer. Burrows, Sydrach Simpson, in the Year 1644. And Mr. John Norton's friendly Answer to Apollonius in the Year 1645. from New-England. Thus this Spirit
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of Union hath been striving and struggling a long Time for Unity among Brethren, in the Country, both Foreign and Domestick, and some time hath prevailed; but now (*Deo Gratias*) it hath prevailed in this great City, which, I trust, doth bode better things than *Lewis Maimburgh's Method* of re-uniting Protestants and Papists did, first writ in French, and made to speak English in this Day, when we were upon the very brinks of *Popery* and *Slavery*.

Remark the Second. Seeing in Matters of Religion so little is got by wrangling Disputation, therefore, for the avoiding of that Inconvenience, there ought to be an *Agreement* of some *Principles* on both Sides, wherein they do *convenire in tertio*, meet unanimously, as in a *Third*: Sure I am, such a *Cordial and Christian Concord* in all those most *Material Heads* of *Agreement*, is the gaining of a grand Point against the Common Adversary, who depends upon their own Harmony and our Discord and Distractions.

I cannot find any Reason why I may not, without Vanity, prognosticate *good Things to come* from this Happy Unity, considering,

1. How God commanded his Blessing in *David's Day*, when the two Houses of *Saul* and *David* came up, after eight Years Unnatural Intestin Wars, to dwell together as Brethren in Unity; 'tis supposed that at the End of that *Discord* *David* penned his 133 *Psalms*; after which the Kingdom of *Israel* flourished more than ever before.

2. How the two Sticks (*Judah* and *Israel*, which had been a Cleft-Stick ever after *Rehoboam's* Reign) became one Stick again, and clave close together in the Hand of the Lord; tho this was but a poor Stick in it self still, yet God was pleased to use so slender a thing to very great purpose, as was fulfilled, when the *Jews* and many of the ten Tribes returned from the Captivity into their own Country under *Zerubbabel* and *Ezra*, &c. *Ezek.* 37. 16, 17, to 28. After which Unity *Gog* and *Magog* (*Turk* and *Pope*) are destroyed, *Ezek.* 38, and 39, &c.

3. How that old Fend betwixt *Jews* and *Gentiles* was laid aside by the Kingdom of the Gospel, the Partition-Wall thrown down by *Christ's* coming: As there was no Noise of *Axe* or of *Hammer*, in the Building of *Solomon's Temple*, 1 *Kings* 6. 7. So nor ought to be in the erecting the Gospel-Church; and indeed there was no Noise of Division at its first Plantation, for the Builders thereof were all of one accord, *Act.* 4. 22. There was *Unitas cordis, oris & operis*, Unity of Heart, Mouth and Practice, &c. Oh how plentifully was the Spirit

Spirit of Gifts and Graces poured forth, and what abundance of Converts came in to the Church daily, and the Gospel ran like a Sun-Beam into all Parts of the World, &c. Dr. *Lightfoot* notes well, That at this Time all dividing Names were laid aside; in his Comment upon the *Acts*, p. 293. I wish, with all my Soul, all dividing Names might be done away in our Day; as those distinguishing Titles of *Presbyterians* and *Independants*, were Nick-Names from Adversaries; let them lay buried in Everlasting Oblivion: Then may we hope a fresh Vein of Election (the want of which being so much complained of) might break forth as *Life from the Dead*, &c.

Remark the Third. I do cordially concur with Reverend Mr. *Baxter* (whose Parts and Piety deserve due Veneration) in his desire that *Episcopal* Men likewise would lay aside their Prejudices, &c. and come into this *Christian Concord*, saying, *The distance is not so great, but all these three (the Episcopal, Presbyterian and Independant) were they but heartily willing and forward for Peace, they might agree: I know they might do it, having spoken with some Moderate Men of all the three Parties, and do perceive by their Concessions, it were an easie Work, &c.* 'Tis the Shame (saith he) of all our Faces, that this is not done for publick good, &c. Mr. *Baxter's Gildas Salvianus, or Reform'd Pastor*, p. 187. &c. Again (he saith) The First hath been too fierce upon the Second, and the Second too severe against the Third, whereas the Truth perhaps must be gathered from the several Parties, who each of them hold a part of it in peculiar. See his *Christian Concord*, p. 95, 96. And again, when God restor'd Peace to his Church, All the three shall see their own Miscarriages, and lament them before the Lord, yea loath themselves for their Emulations, pag. 101. And again, excellently, *While God is my Master, his Word my Rule, his Work my Business, and the Success of it in saving of Souls my End, I cannot be silent to see Souls undone by the Discord of Ministers, &c.* See his *Reform'd Pastor*, p. 199. To which I add, no doubt but there be godly Ministers of that Persuasion, who are tight Protestants, and not tinged with *Arminianism*, *Socinianism*, &c. Not differing from us in Fundamentals, but in Circumstantials only; Now when the day of Christ's Power comes, that will make all Parties willing, *Psal. 110. 3.* this would cause the Concord to be so much the stronger; for a three-fold Cord is not easily broken.

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Remark the Fourth. Unity without Verity is rather a Conspiracy, as in the Builders of Babel, Gen. 11. 1, 4. which ended in Confusion; there is no lasting Concord but in Truth. Herod and Pilate were two Wood-Sticks that were made one in the Devils Hand (not in Gods, as Israel and Judah above) to beat Christ to Pieces. The Union Papists boast of is rather Politick than Real, having vast Varieties among them in their most potent Orders, as Franciscans, Dominicans, &c. but the Unity which Christ came to establish, doth not depend upon Uniformity, but upon Charity in a Christian, and Candid Forbearance of one another in Circumstantial: Where there is an Agreement in the Essentials of Worship, Indifferent things are dispensed with for Unity, Acts 21. 24. And this Holy Unity is called the Consolation, Acts 15. 31. The Lord bless us with more of this Blessed Consolation.

F I N I S.
